

Journal of Policy Science Vol.7

Social Capital Effects for Dual Civic Participation¹⁾ : Civil Society and Civic Participation in Japan

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Abstract

Pekkanen (2006) stated that Japanese civil society has been shown to have a dual structure. However, he did not consider at all the individual's civic participation in his model explaining the structure of Japanese civic society. The recent trends of individual civic behaviour and the social context dynamics described thus far indicate that individual action may look different from collective 'dualism'. Based on secondary data analyses of the JGSS 2003 data set, we have shown that those who participate in neighbourhood association activities are more than fivefold the number of participants in civic/residential movements. That is, Japanese civil society has been shown to have a dual structure, as Pekkanen (2006) asserted, which should be called a 'dual civic action'. However, many Japanese do not necessarily participate frequently in any type of civic action. At the same time, the present study extends research on the relationship between social capital and civic action to two major dimensions. Based on the study of Son & Lin (2008), we operated with NHA activities defined as a sort of expressive civic action, and civic/residential movements considered as a sort of instrumental civic action. Our results reveal that while both individual social capital (including political social capital) and organisational social capital triggered instrumental civic actions, only individual social capital (excluding political social capital) predicted expressive civic actions. This result doesn't support earlier studies conducted in U.S. The present study demonstrated the importance of social capital to mobilise individuals in citizenship activities in the context of Japan. Japanese people usually travel on a specific road to the two types of civic actions.

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Civic society and civic participation in the Japanese context

As Pekkanen (2006) recently observed, Japanese civil society has been shown to have a dual structure. He stated that Japanese civil society is vital locally, citing examples of a vibrant local civil society, including neighbourhood associations (NHA, called *Chonai-kai* or *Jichi-kai* in Japanese). There are more than 2,098 NHA in Japan, and the rate at which members join is extremely high, thanks to communities' efforts at encouraging residents to join these associations. In contrast, at the national level, Japanese civil society organizations lack staff and, hence, do not have the expertise and ability to make their presence felt at national debates. Pekkanen described this paradoxical structure of civil society organizations as a 'dual civil society'. Additionally, he stated that Japanese civil society organizations have 'members without advocate[s]', which means they k. In fact, as Pekkanen pointed out, NHA provide various activities that improve community life, enhance communication among neighbourhoods and maintain infrastructure. The Cabinet Office (2007) indicated the types of activities promoted by NHA: environmental activities, 93.5%; communications, 93.3%; events, 87.5%; public relations, 84.8%; disaster/crime prevention, 84.2% and so on. Those who participate in such activities are all considered as volunteers.

As Pekkanen noted, the spread of NHA across the country can only be explained by government support (Pekkanen, 2006: p.161). NHA in Japan often work with branches of local government to disseminate information or maintain public facilities. NHA at a rate of 84.8% distribute public relations papers from the local government to community residents²⁾. At the same time, 71.0% of NHA have experience in lobbying local government institutions or assemblies³⁾. NHA are closely related to local governments; therefore, Japanese scholars regard NHA as a part of the governing structure at the street level. However, recently, the activities of NHA have not been able to attract many participants. In 2007, cited The Cabinet Office (2007), only 12.7% of adults in Japan participated in NHA activities at least once a month. The rate of adult who participated in NHA activities at a few times a year is 35.8% of the total (Ibid). On the other hand, the rate of individuals who have never participated in NHA activities reached 51.5% of the total surveyed⁴⁾. It appears that NHA have many members who join, but not many who participate. It is thought that one of the reasons for the low level of participation in NHA activities is an increasing number of single dwellers. In fact, 70.0% of single people do not participate in NHA activities at all⁵⁾. In addition,

those who live in private rental housing (collective housing) tend to be excluded from their local community. The percentage of persons or families living in housing that is privately rented is 10.3% of all the respondents; however, the percentage of the respondents who felt isolated within their community is 22.8%⁶⁾. These lifestyle changes (single dwellers and those living in private rental housing) seem to have had an effect on the decrease in participation in NHA activities.

Furthermore, there have been recent changes in circumstances surrounding civil society organisations in Japan. Due to outstanding work by volunteers in disaster relief activities after the 1995 earthquake in Kobe, the Japanese Diet enacted the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the NPO Law), which came into effect in December 1998. Previously, the Japanese government strictly regulated the formation and management of new traditional non-profit corporations. The new NPO law has freely allowed associations based on voluntary and citizen participation to obtain corporate status. Within 10 years following the NPO law, over 41,000 organisations became incorporated. The new NPO corporations include some typical advocacy organisations such as environmental protection associations, human rights groups and organisations of citizen ombudsmen. However, most new NPOs are small in size, and, therefore, we assume that they do not have much influence on the government.⁷⁾ One might expect that the increasing number of new NPO corporations would have the effect of enhancing their advocacy power and influence over the government. In fact, 22.4% of these organisations worked in the field of 'global warming', and 23.2% worked in the group that focused on 'recycling society' and made policy proposals or took other policy actions, according to an investigation by an NPO civic group in the environmental preservation field, the Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry (2009). The incorporated non-profit organisation in the Osaka Prefecture study by Yoji Horota, Hiroshi Kashiwagi and Hirotohi Yano that was conducted from November to December 2009 found that 11.3% of NPOs made policy proposals⁸⁾. These studies reveal that a certain number of incorporated non-profit organisations are engaged in policy proposal activity, although the ratio is quite small⁹⁾.

As mentioned earlier, Pekkanen considered the civic society structure in Japan from an organisational perspective. He asserted that civic movements in Japan are usually undertaken locally and never on a broad scale. In fact, environmental

advocacy groups in Japan have a rather small annual budget on average and a relative small number of professional staff, although they have gradually become encouraged to initiate civic actions due to the effect of the new NPO law. At the local level, members have continued to join NHA at a high rate; however, NHA activities do not attract many participants. Nevertheless, Pekkanen did not consider at all the individuals' civic participation in his model explaining the structure of Japanese civic society. The recent trends in individual civic behaviour and the social context dynamics described thus far indicate that individual action may show a different figure than collective 'dualism'. What are the factors that determine that an individual will participate in civil society in Japan? We can observe the process by which an individual participates in civic actions when we understand Japanese civil society on a deeper level. Further considerations need to be taken into account in developing models of individual participation in civic activities in Japan. In the next section, we refer to the theoretical background of the network-based perspective of social capital to explain a useful annalistic concept for our study.

The network-based perspective of social capital theories

The notions of social capital help us to decompose the mechanisms by which individuals engage in civic actions in the society to which they belong. Much attention has been focused on the topic of the association between civic action and social capital (Putnam, 2000; Dasgupta, 2000; Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2002; Hooghe, 2003; Isham et al., 2006; Wollebæk & Selle 2003). The network-based perspective of social capital theories is particularly helpful for understanding this topic. Theories on social embeddedness are an important background of social capital based on the network approach. In this theoretical framework, individuals are viewed as embedded in social relationships. Gould noted that 'social ties make individuals' decisions about participating in collective action interdependent' (Gould 1993:182). According to this theoretical view, social capital is defined as the 'resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilised in purposive actions' (Lin, 2001). Concerning the utility of social capital for individual action and interaction, it should be recognised that individuals access and mobilise resources embedded in social networks for personal goals such as status attainment (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001). Putnam (2000) emphasised that the degree of participation in voluntary organisations indicates the extent of social capital. The number of associations and the members joining them promote and

enhance collective norms and trust, which are central to the production and maintenance of the collective well-being. Yet, studies based on the network-based approach suggest that social ties may be as important as, or even more important than, joining social associations that are engaged in civic action.

Son & Lin (2008) examined how individual and organisational social capital produce civic actions. In their study, they defined two types of civic actions: expressive civic actions and instrumental civic actions. Expressive civic actions are defined as actions intended to preserve resources (e.g. values, standard of living and welfare) in the community. Instrumental civic actions seek more resources to improve the chances of certain types of success for the community. They found that individual social capital was the consistent and significant predictor of both expressive and instrumental civic actions. At same time, organisational social capital played the most important role in predicting instrumental civic actions, although it was insignificant in predicting expressive civic actions. In addition, they found that civic actions differ according to gender. To be specific, women were more likely to be involved in expressive civic actions, but female dominance disappeared in the realm of instrumental civic actions. The results indicated that affiliations with organisations and organisational social ties are a means to consolidate civic participative action to solve public problems and gain new resources rather than action to consolidate resources and defend against the possible loss of resources.

In another study, Ryan et al. (2005) investigated the influence of community attachment on voluntary citizen participation in rural community improvement projects in the state of Iowa, in the United States. They defined different types of social ties as weak and strong. Weak informal ties were interpreted as the proportion of adults in the community whom a citizen knew by name, and strong informal ties were interpreted as the proportion of a citizen's close personal friends who lived locally. In addition, formal ties were defined as the number of memberships that a citizen had in different types of local organisations (a maximum of 5). The findings provided overall support for the positive influence of local social ties on voluntary participation. In the case of Ryan et al. (2005), weak informal ties and strong informal ties can be viewed as individual social capital. Formal ties are a form of organisational social capital¹⁰⁾. These results support the idea that formal ties positively and directly affect voluntary citizen participation in community projects. The positive influence of weak informal

social ties is indirect. However, there is little evidence that strong informal social ties have an impact on voluntary participation directly and indirectly.

Based on the definition of Son & Lin (2008), participation in the two types of civic actions in Japan may be defined in the following ways. We can regard participation in NHA activities as expressive civic actions because most NHA activities play the role of preserving resources in the community, such as environmental activities, communication, disaster prevention, crime prevention and so on. On the other hand, participation in civic/residential movements engaged in advocacy action means that instrumental civic actions are behaviours that gain additional public resources.

Civic participation and social capital: Research methods

Pekkanen (2006) stated that, as mentioned earlier, Japanese civil society has been shown to have a dual structure. However, he did not consider at all the individual's civic participation in his model explaining the structure of Japanese civil society. The recent trends of individual civic behaviour and the social context dynamics described thus far indicate that individual action may look different from collective 'dualism'. Thus, our first research question focuses on what the current tendency of individual civic action looks like in Japan.

H1: The tendency of individual civic action in Japan indicates frequent participation in NHA activities and rare participation in civic/residential movements, in other words, 'dual civil action'.

Pekkanen noted that civic movements in Japan are usually undertaken locally and never on a broad scale. 'Members without advocates', which is his straightforward expression for the situation of Japanese civil society organisations, means that such organisations have abandoned social capital, although they do not have enough power to influence any policies of local and national governments.

H2: NHA activists have more varied types of both organisational and individual social ties than civic/residential movement activists do.

The results of studies grounded in the network-based approach provide some

suggestions and hypotheses for analysing Japanese civil society. Early research found that individual social capital and organisational social capital lead to civic action. It is not clear this process keeps Japanese context reproducible, thus, we should argue functions of any type of social capital predicting expressive and instrumental civic actions in the Japanese context. What is the impact of social capital measured by social networks on both expressive and instrumental individual civic actions? We assumed those have different determinants. As is evident from the data of current NHA activities, in addition, political influence may remain significant in Japanese civil society. Analysis of individual civic action in Japan must take into account 'political social capital' (Lin, 2001). As the second research aim, the present study intends to reach an understanding that social capital influences civic actions based on empirical study.

H3: Japanese expressive civic actions reflect positively different kinds of individual and organisational social capital.

H4: Japanese expressive civic actions are not affected positively by many types of individual and organisational social capital.

This study employs data from the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS)⁽¹¹⁾. Although the survey has been conducted on an annual basis since 1999, we only used the data from 2003. The reason for this is that a question about several association memberships was only adopted in 2003. Based on the data from JGSS in 2003, I conducted logistic regression analyses. The sample consists of 1,706 respondents. Of the total respondents, 7.1% were individuals who participated in civic/residential movements in the last five years, and 36.0% were individuals who participated in NHA activities in the last five years. To measure participation in dual civil society, we constructed different equations for the two types of civic participation, which are participation in civic/residential movements and participation in NHA activities in the last five years. These dependent variables will be used for each analysis as independent variables.

Six personal background factors were prepared in this research as independent variables: Education (dummy variable. 1-university/0-high school or less), Income (the whole of the family income; used an ordinal-scale variable⁽¹²⁾), Age, Gender (dummy variable. 2-female/1-male), Housing (dummy variable. 1-private rental housing/0-other) and Living (dummy variable. 1-live alone/0-live with others).

These factors may be added to the basic model as control variables or as opportunity/constraint factors. Several earlier studies have shown that level of education is a strong predictor of volunteering as well as social capital (Wollebæk & Selle, 2003; Son & Lin, 2008). In addition, current Japanese social changes imply that housing and living style give an influence for the form of their civic action.

Individual social capital was measured based on three types of personal ties: (1) 'Do you have someone talking with some worried about?' (1-yes/0-no); (2) 'Do you know a man/woman who is an NHA leader?' (1-yes/0-no); (3) 'Do you know a man/woman who is a civic association leader?' (1-yes/0-no). Dummy variables are used in these.

We add another type of individual social capital factor, which is political individual social capital. We assume that political connections may have a significant influence on civic participation in Japan because Japanese civil society organisations such as NHA are closely related to the government, as previously mentioned. Five questions were used to measure an individual's political social capital: (1) Do you know a man/woman who is an officer at the managerial level of the national government? (1-yes/0-no); (2) Do you know a man/woman who is an officer at the managerial level of the national government? (1-yes/0-no); (3) Do you know a man/woman who is a member of the Diet? (1-yes/0-no); (4) Do you know a man/woman who is a mayor? (1-yes/0-no); (5) Do you know a man/woman who is a member of a local assembly? (1-yes/0-no).

The measures of organisational social capital consist of seven indices that represent a diversity of embedded resources in the organisational network. Those were measured by dummy variables based on the participant's number of memberships across different types of associations: an industrial association, a hobby association, a religious association, a civic association, a neighbourhood association, a sports association and a volunteer association.

Results

Table 1 reports the results of cross-tabulation analysis to explain the participant number of NHA activities and civic/residential movements. The number of participants in NHA activities is 614, or 36.0% in total. The number of

Table 1. Cross-Tabulation: Participation in NHA activities × participation in C/R movements

		C/R movements		Chi-squared Test
		Did not participate	Participated	
NHA activities	Did not participate	1056	36	66.345***
	Participated	529	85	

*** < 0.0001

participants in civic/residential movements is 121, or 7.1% in total. We recognise that the number of those who participate in NHA activities is more than fivefold the number of those who participate in civic/residential movements. This result nearly supports the first research hypothesis of the dualism tendency regarding Japanese civic participation: frequent expressive civic actions and rare instrumental civic actions. However, we must keep in mind that the individuals who had not participated in either activity accounted for 61.9% of the total. Many Japanese people do not necessarily participate in civic actions frequently. The individuals who participate in both activities were a very small number that accounted for just 4.9% of the total.

The Kruskal-Wallis test was used to compare the average scores of independent variables among participants in only NHA, participants in only civic/residential movements, participants in both activities and individuals who had never participated in either (see Table 2). When we focus only on the difference between the participants in NHA and the participants in civic/residential movements, the results reveal some significant differences. Participants in NHA are older than those in civic/residential movements. A very high number of participants in civic/residential movements live in private rental housing compared with participants in NHA. With regard to individual social capital, on average, participants in civic/residential movements are more likely to have someone to talk with some worried about. Furthermore, participants in civic/residential movements tend to have more varied forms of political individual social capital more than do participants in NHA, except for mayors and NHA leaders. In contrast, participants in NHA belong to more different types of associations than do participants in civic/residential movements. In other words, participants in NHA have a variety of types of organisational social capital. These results strongly support hypothesis 2.

As presented in Table 3, by employing logistic regression analysis, we can find the determining factors in civic participation in NHA activities. The table conveys the

Table 2. Kruskal-Wallis Tests: Difference in Types of Participation

	Did not participate	NHA' participants	C/R movements' participants	Both participants	Significance (p-value)
Education	0.30	0.28	<u>0.33</u>	0.27	0.7494
Income	13.26	12.61	<u>13.66</u>	12.74	0.5455
Age	52.28	54.75	50.89	<u>55.94</u>	0.0445*
Gender	<u>1.60</u>	1.56	1.58	1.44	0.0189*
Housing	0.15	0.05	<u>0.26</u>	0.11	< 0.0001*
Living alone	<u>0.09</u>	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.0022*
Rural or urban	0.20	0.15	<u>0.25</u>	0.20	0.0843
Talking about worries	2.29	2.47	<u>2.75</u>	2.45	0.0146*
Diet member	0.03	0.11	0.12	<u>0.23</u>	< 0.0001*
National government officer	0.02	0.07	0.09	<u>0.16</u>	< 0.0001*
Local assembly person	0.20	0.37	0.50	<u>0.63</u>	< 0.0001*
Mayor	0.07	0.17	0.12	<u>0.40</u>	< 0.0001*
Local government officer	0.17	0.31	0.33	<u>0.57</u>	< 0.0001*
NHA Leader	0.38	0.80	0.66	<u>0.83</u>	< 0.0001*
CA Leader	0.14	0.34	0.46	<u>0.68</u>	< 0.0001*
Civic Association	0.01	0.03	0.12	<u>0.28</u>	< 0.0001*
Hobby Association	0.13	0.20	0.31	<u>0.36</u>	< 0.0001*
Industrial Association	0.06	0.13	0.06	<u>0.22</u>	< 0.0001*
Political Association	0.02	0.07	0.06	<u>0.18</u>	< 0.0001*
Religious Association	0.05	0.08	0.06	<u>0.13</u>	0.0357*
Sports Association	0.13	0.25	0.21	<u>0.36</u>	< 0.0001*
Volunteer Association	0.04	0.13	0.26	<u>0.29</u>	< 0.0001*

influence of the independent variable on the outcome and whether the variable is significant (when other variables are present). All of the first, abandoned social capital determines participation in NHA activities. Three kinds of individual social capital (NHA leader and CA leader), one kind of individual political social capital (national government officer) and three kinds of organisational social capital (political association, sports association and volunteer group) were the significant predictors of participation in NHA activities. Further, we point to the fact that a particular class of people has a positive tendency to enter into expressive civic actions because several personal background variables were significantly associated with participation in NHA activities. Conversely, in one sense, this tendency suggests that local communities exclude or ignore individuals such as those of low income or those who live alone or in private rental housing. However, there was no evidence that isolated people, as measured by having someone with whom to talk about their worries, had significantly negative effects

Table 3. Logistic Regression Analysis: Determinants of Participation in NHA Activities

	Coefficient	Standard Error	
Education	– 0.0202237	0.075923	
Income	0.03041292	0.0110978	**
Age	0.00868943	0.0045237	
Gender	– 0.043193	0.0656101	
Housing	– 0.3342572	0.1187706	**
Living alone	– 0.3980521	0.1394113	**
Rural or urban	– 0.0672155	0.0859316	
Talking about worries	0.09913362	0.1164135	
Diet member	0.15708877	0.1357988	
National government officer	0.46481283	0.170771	**
Local assembly person	0.00888001	0.0806384	
Mayor	0.06883112	0.1122052	
Local government officer	– 0.0413355	0.0840805	
NHA Leader	0.84178526	0.0718139	**
CA Leader	0.2036389	0.0825633	*
Civic Association	0.15995289	0.213161	
Hobby Association	– 0.0426742	0.0874825	
Industrial Association	0.11823819	0.1085303	
Political Association	0.50441991	0.1812968	**
Religious Association	0.02867784	0.1369091	
Sports Association	0.27712134	0.0838576	**
Volunteer Association	0.29757177	0.1273379	*
C/R movements participation	0.45994134	0.1342155	**

Chi-squared	411.4629
Prob > ChiSq	< 0.0001
R2(U)	0.2064
Observations	1537

*p ≤ 0.05. **p ≤ 0.01.

on participating in NHA activities.

The logistic regression analysis on the determinants of participation in civic/residential movements in Japan is found in Table 4. Organisational social capital did not show positive effects, while individual social capital (civic association leaders' ties and NHA leaders' ties) showed positive effects of participation in civic/residential movements. We did not find strong evidence to show that having individual and organisational ties associate for entering into instrumental civic action. It may be thought that our results did not support the study of Son & Lin (2008). However, there is also little evidence that individuals enter civic/residential movements based on their individual social status (private rental

Table 4. Logistic Regression Analysis: Determinants of Participation in Civic/ Residential Movements

	Coefficient	Standard Error	
Education	– 0.2209896	0.1416248	
Income	– 0.0300054	0.021826	
Age	0.00753643	0.0093885	
Gender	– 0.1943606	0.1235477	
Housing	0.5791489	0.1855187	**
Living alone	– 0.0148674	0.2683926	
Rural or urban	0.14858831	0.1519756	
Talking about worries	– 0.0506116	0.2120728	
Diet member	0.05065804	0.1850512	
National government officer	0.20151276	0.2045544	
Local assembly person	0.14405441	0.1407654	
Mayor	0.04223408	0.1674272	
Local government officer	0.25597531	0.1466658	
NHA Leader	0.23806309	0.1569348	**
CA Leader	0.36705797	0.1424661	**
Civic Association	1.04662591	0.2012637	
Hobby Association	0.19797439	0.1398288	
Industrial Association	0.06708357	0.1666661	
Political Association	0.1377615	0.2110793	
Religious Association	0.26287705	0.2137729	
Sports Association	0.08838826	0.1399226	
Volunteer Association	0.14477858	0.1615047	
NHA activities participation	0.4783107	0.1365893	**

Chi-squared	174.0499
Prob > ChiSq	< 0.0001
R2(U)	0.2319
Observations	1537

*p ≤ 0.05. **p ≤ 0.01.

housing). Thus, we can state that social capital partially affects participation in civic/residential movements except for political social capital, and these results show some support for the Son & Lin proposition.

In the results, an individual's joining a volunteer association did not have any effect on that individual's participation in civic/residential movements, although it does have positive effects on NHA activities. In one sense, this result demonstrates clearly that volunteer associations in Japan can be considered as 'members without advocates' (cited in Pekkanen, 2006). Most volunteer social service organisations in Japan are organised under the umbrella of their local Social Welfare Council (Haddad, 2004). These councils were established across the

country in the 1970s as quasi-governmental associations that brought city officials together with community leaders concerned about social welfare issues.

Another interesting aspect of our results is that education level did not have any influence on either form of civic action. Citizenship education in higher education becomes considerably more important for making a good civil society and a vigorous local community. In contrast to the United States, citizenship education has received far less attention among universities in Japan. These institutions have played a small role in nurturing citizens who support democracy. Recently, interest in volunteer activity has been increasing among universities in Japan. In fact, 73.7% of public universities and 84.6% of private universities provide information on volunteer activities to students on their campuses. However, only 0.65% of public universities and 2.8% of private universities have an independent department with professional staff devoted to such activities.

Conclusion

Based on secondary data analyses of the JGSS 2003 data set, we have shown that those who participate in NHA activities are more than fivefold the number of participants in civic/residential movements. That is, Japanese civic participation has been shown to have a dual structure, as Pekkanen (2006) asserted, which should be called a 'dual civic action'. However, many Japanese do not necessarily participate frequently in any type of civic action.

At the same time, the present study extends research on the relationship between social capital and civic action to two major dimensions. Based on the study of Son & Lin (2008), we operated with NHA activities defined as a sort of expressive civic action, and civic/residential movements considered as a sort of instrumental civic action. Participants in civic/residential movements tend to have various individual social capitals in larger amounts than do participants in NHA. In contrast, participants in NHA have more variety in the types of organisational social capital than do participants in civic/residential movements. Nevertheless, abandoned social capital determines participation in NHA activities in Japan, although most types of social capital did not show positive effects on participation in civic/residential movements. Both individual social capital and organisational social capital were significant predictors of participation in NHA activities. A particular class of people tends to participate positively in NHA activities. In

contrast, participation in civic/residential movements was not significantly influenced by any type of organisational social capital. Some individual, not political, social capital types have a meaningful effect on participation in civic/residential movements, such as NHA leaders' ties, civic association leaders' ties and participation in NHA activities. Thus, we can say that civic activists are not 'joiners', but rather, 'networkers'. They are mobilised through a specific type of social ties to gain new resources for a better community life.

In addition, we must recognise that participation in civic/residential movements and participation in NHA activities influence each other. This means civic activists are community activists as well. We should not consider these two civil society participants separately. However, individuals who participate in both forms of activities were a very small number.

This study has demonstrated the importance of social capital to mobilise individuals in citizenship activities in the context of Japan. We identified the specific mechanisms that lead to each civic action: NHA activities as expressive civic actions and civic/residential movements as instrumental civic actions. Our results reveal that while both individual social capital (including political social capital) and organisational social capital triggered instrumental civic actions, only individual social capital (excluding political social capital) predicted expressive civic actions. This result doesn't support earlier studies conducted in U.S. Japanese people usually travel on a specific road to the two types of civic actions.

Are the results shown particular to a certain specific cultural context such as Japan? Or can we observe universal behaviours across societies? One of the limitations of our study is that our sample data were only based on Japanese civic action, which might limit the extent to which our results can be generalised. Further research should examine the relationship between civic action and social capital in more detail.

Notes

- 1) This study was supported in part by Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B) 20730386. An earlier version of this article was presented during a poster session at the 6th ISTR Asia and Pacific Regional Conference on The Third Sector, Taipei, Taiwan, November 4, 2009.
- 2) The data source is 'White Paper on the National Lifestyle 2007'.
- 3) See Id.

- 4) See Id.
- 5) See Id.
- 6) See Id.
- 7) The Cabinet Office (2010) shows that over 80% of the incorporated specified non-profits have an annual budget of less than 1 million yen.
- 8) See website, 6 December 2010. <http://www.co-existing.com/>
- 9) However, we cannot completely deny the possibility that incorporated non-profits have limited effectiveness against government because, for the most part, most of those organizations are small in scale. According to the Cabinet Office (2010), approximately half of incorporated non-profits have an annual operating budget of less than \$40,000, and of them, 37.5% percent only had a budget of less \$20,000.
- 10) In the results, the strength of formal ties is affected by status (SES), which is measured by education, income, occupation or some combination of the three. Tenure's total effect on informal ties both weak and strong.
- 11) JGSS are designed and conducted at the Institute of Regional Studies at Osaka University of Commerce in collaboration with the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo under the direction of Ichiro TANIOKA, Michio NITTA, Hiroki SATO and Noriko IWAI, with Project Manager, Minae OSAWA. The project was financially supported by a Gakujutsu Frontier Grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology for the academic years 1999–2003, and the data sets were compiled and distributed by the SSJ Data Archive, Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan, Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo.
- 12) 1-none, 2-less than 7 hundred thousand yen, 3-from 7 hundred thousand yen to less than 1 million yen, 4-from 1 million yen to less than 1.3 million yen, 5-from 1.3 million yen to less than 1.5 million yen, 6-from 1.5 million yen to less than 2.5 million yen, 7-from 2.5 million yen to less than 3.5 million yen, 8-from 3.5 million yen to less than 4.5 million yen, 9-from 4.5 million yen to less than 5.5 million yen, 10-from 5.5 million yen to less than 6.5 million yen, 11-from 6.5 million yen to less than 7.5 million yen, 12-from 7.5 million yen to less than 8.5 million yen, 13-from 8.5 million yen to less than 10 million yen, 14-from 10 million yen to less than 12 million yen, 15-from 12 million yen to less than 14 million yen, 16-from 14 million yen to less than 16 million yen, 17-from 16 million yen to less than 18.5 million yen, 18-from 18.5 million yen to less than 23 million yen, 19-over 23 million yen.

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